Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village homes.

When a Munduruca mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- 'a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

Munduruca body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kadaké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned,[1] a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

[1] [Martius (source No. 2) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibé, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusakaibé (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

58 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygyny was ordinarily entered nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. Some of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [illegible] then the wife became so promiscuous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

684 The sib-moiety system

The Mundurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twenty-two. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate[a] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[a] Martius, 1867, p. 388.

595 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
678 their endurance. Bibei refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly
attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father.
[422] He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
578 is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Bibei. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Bibei returned to Cabitutú to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of
[758] Cabitutú, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would
681] seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Bibei did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bibei's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

559 In the meantime, the parents of the young wife were not as secure as Bibei
thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl;
●686 whatever resistance she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Bibei's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men could express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bibei, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Bibei with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably devious. But physical sanctions against Bibei would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bibei's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bibei soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

who had excluded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Bikwé's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranged solidly against him. Then, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabitutá to Cabruká. And Bikwé ran back and forth between Cabitutá, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruká, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bikwé's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Bikwé had almost ceased to be a social person—the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Caetano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabitutá would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bikwé came immediately to Cabruká and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bikwé approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in fine Bikwé style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bikwé knew that his life as a Manduruca was finished.

NOTES

(1) Manduruca Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Rainey Harper Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Manduruca social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).